

## Message Text

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TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 062809

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION TO TOKYO INFO BONN LONDON MOSCOW SEOUL  
EC BRUSSELS IAEA VIENNA GENEVA PEKING MARCH 20, 1975 FROM SECSTATE  
REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 062809

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, TECH, IAEA, JA

SUBJECT: JAPANESE INTEREST IN SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR  
WEAPON STATES (NNWS)

REFS: TOKYO 3241; TOKYO 3542

1. WE RECOGNIZE UTILITY THAT JAPANESE INITIATIVE AT NPT  
REVIEW CONFERENCE (REVCON) COULD HAVE FOR GOJ IN SATISFYING  
LDP CRITICS OF NPT AND PUBLIC GENERALLY THAT GOVERNMENT MAK-  
ING EVERY EFFORT TO SAFEGUARD SECURITY OF NNWS, PARTICULARLY  
JAPAN. WE ALSO APPRECIATE VALUE OF ARGUMENT THAT RATIFICA-  
TION PRIOR TO MAY 5 WOULD GIVE JAPANESE DELEGATION ADDED  
WEIGHT IN PRESSING SECURITY INITIATIVE AT REVCON. IN ADDI-  
TION, ALTHOUGH QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING SECURITY OF NNWS  
COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR US AT REVCON, IT IS CERTAIN TO ARISE  
EVEN IF JAPANESE DO NOT RAISE IT. NUMBER OF STATES, INCLUD-  
ING MEXICO, ROMANIA, MOROCCO, AND NIGERIA, HAVE ALREADY  
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INDICATED THEY LOOK TO REVCON TO OBTAIN BETTER SECURITY ASSURANCES FOR NNWS. JAPANESE INTEREST IN SECURITY ASSURANCES THEREFORE NOT LIKELY TO CREATE DIFFICULTIES FOR US THAT WOULD OTHERWISE NOT EXIST AND, AMONG OTHERS EXPECTED TO RAISE ISSUE AT REVCON, JAPAN MAY PROVE TO BE MODERATING INFLUENCE.

2. AT SAME TIME, WE SEE POTENTIAL PROBLEMS IN AMBITIOUS JAPANESE INITIATIVE AT REVCON. AS EMBASSY KNOWS, US POSITION HAS BEEN TO RESIST ATTEMPTS TO EXPAND UPON ASSURANCES PROVIDED IN 1968 IN CONNECTION WITH NPT (I.E. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 255). WHILE USG CURRENTLY REVIEWING POLICY ON SECURITY ASSURANCES, WE CANNOT AT PRESENT HOLD OUT ANY PROSPECT OF CHANGE IN US POSITION AT REVCON, AND DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES OF CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS ON ASSURANCES ISSUE ADD TO DIFFICULTY OF PREDICTING WHETHER CONFERENCE WILL BE ABLE TO PRODUCE NEW COMMITMENTS RE SECURITY OF NNWS. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT, IF RATIFICATION PROCESS NOT COMPLETED BY MAY 5 AND IF JAPANESE SECURITY INITIATIVE FALLS SHORT OF EXPECTATIONS, THIS COULD BE USED BY JAPANESE CRITICS OF NPT AS PRETEXT IN LAST DITCH EFFORT TO BLOCK RATIFICATION. WE CAN ALSO FORESEE DIFFICULTIES IF JAPAN CAME TO REVCON AS TREATY PARTY AND STILL PRESSED FOR FAR-REACHING SECURITY COMMITMENTS IN HOPE OF ASSURING DOMESTIC AUDIENCE THAT IT WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR INCREASED NNWS SECURITY PARTICULARLY NOW THAT IT HAS FORMALIZED NON-NUCLEAR STATUS. SHOULD GOJ PROPOSAL BE UNATTAINABLE THIS COULD CONTRIBUTE TO FURTHER DOUBTS ABOUT VALUE OF EXISTING NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME FOR NNWS SECURITY AND, WHEN NOT ACCEPTED, COULD GIVE NPT HOLDOUT STATES ANOTHER ARGUMENT FOR REMAINING OUTSIDE TREATY.

3. GIVEN THESE CONSIDERATIONS, WE WOULD NOT WANT GOJ TO HAVE UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS OF WHAT CAN BE ACHIEVED AT REVCON ON SECURITY ISSUE. IN EVENT THAT JAPANESE DECIDE TO PURSUE QUESTION AT REVCON, WE WOULD HOPE THEIR EFFORTS WOULD BE FAIRLY RESTRAINED AND PERHAPS EVEN HELPFUL IN CONTAINING UNREASONABLE PRESSURES FROM OTHERS. IN PARTICULAR, WE WOULD PREFER THAT THEY NOT LAUNCH MAJOR CAMPAIGN IF, AT TIME OF REVCON, PROSPECTS FOR MOVEMENT ON ASSURANCES QUESTION SEEMED REMOTE.

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4. ACCORDINGLY, EMBASSY MAY DRAW UPON FOLLOWING POINTS WITH FONOFF IN DISCUSSING ISSUE OF POSSIBLE GOJ INITIATIVE AT REVCON AND IN COURSE OF GAINING CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF JAPANESE VIEWS ON SUBJECT:

-- WE FULLY EXPECT QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING SECURITY OF

NNWS WILL BE IMPORTANT ITEM AT REVCON, AS SEVERAL STATES HAVE ALREADY INDICATED INTENTION TO RAISE SUBJECT.

-- US SYMPATHIZES WITH DESIRE OF NNWS TO STRENGTHEN THEIR SECURITY AND ACCORDINGLY SUPPORTED PAKISTANI RESOLUTION AT 1974 UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY CALLING ON MEMBER STATES TO CONSIDER IN ALL APPROPRIATE FORUMS QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING SECURITY OF NNWS.

-- HOWEVER, AS GOJ IS AWARE, QUESTION OF SPECIFIC SECURITY GUARANTEES BY NUCLEAR POWERS IS HIGHLY COMPLICATED MATTER, WITH CONSIDERABLE DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS BOTH AMONG NNWS AND NUCLEAR POWERS. WHILE USG WILL GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO ALL PRACTICAL PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD AT REVCON FOR STRENGTHENING SECURITY OF NNWS, WE DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE REALISTIC AT PRESENT TIME TO PREDICT CONFERENCE WILL RESULT IN ADDITIONAL NUCLEAR POWER GUARANTEES.

-- BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE AND COMPLEXITY OF THE SECURITY ASSURANCES ISSUE, AND ITS BROADER IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS, WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS TO HANDLE THIS QUESTION CAREFULLY AND RESPONSIBLY.

-- WE BELIEVE RATIFICATION PRIOR TO REVCON WOULD ENHANCE JAPANESE INFLUENCE IN DISCUSSIONS OF THIS AND OTHER ISSUES AT REVCON.

-- WE WOULD APPRECIATE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT WITH GOJ AS GOJ'S THINKING ON SECURITY ISSUE DEVELOPS, AND WE WOULD HOPE THAT US AND JAPANESE DELEGATIONS AT REVCON WOULD STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH ON THIS ISSUE.

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5. IF JAPANESE RAISE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES REGARDING VALUE OF MULTILATERAL OR BILATERAL SECURITY ASSURANCES, EMBASSY MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- WITH RESPECT TO SECURITY OF NNWS GENERALLY, US VIEW IS THAT, ASIDE FROM ASSURANCES PROVIDED BY NUCLEAR POWERS, NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME ITSELF MAKES VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO NNWS SECURITY. WIDER ADHERENCE TO NPT WOULD CERTAINLY ADD TO VALUE OF TREATY REGIME IN SAFEGUARDING SECURITY. OTHER MEANS OF STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY GENERALLY AND THE SECURITY OF NNWS HAVE BEEN AND SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE PURSUED, SUCH AS EFFORTS TO CONTROL NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES.

-- WHILE IT IS IMPORTANT TO CONSIDER MEANS OF STRENGTHEN-  
ING THE SECURITY OF NNWS GENERALLY, IT IS OUR VIEW THAT NO  
COMMITMENTS WE COULD GIVE TO ALL NNWS COULD BE AS STRONG  
AS THE COMMITMENTS WE GIVE TO OUR ALLIES, SUCH AS THOSE  
CONTAINED IN THE BILATERAL MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY. INGERSOLL  
UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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